

AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN

W. BARTHOLD

TRANSLATED BY
SVAT SOUCEK

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
C. E. BOSWORTH

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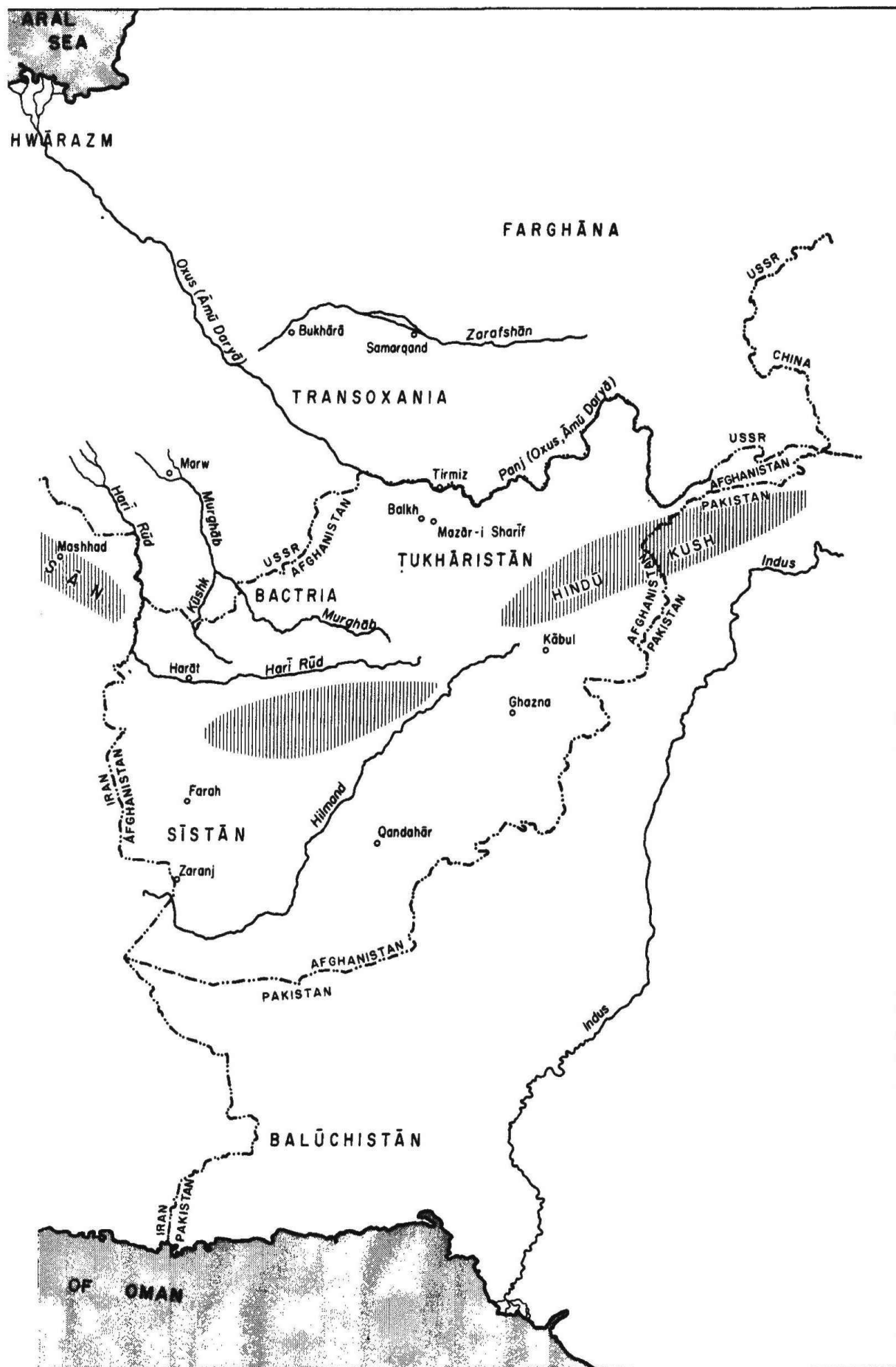
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| AA | <i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> |
| AGWG | <i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.</i> |
| AI | <i>Athār-é Irān</i> |
| AJA | <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> |
| AMI | <i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i> |
| AN | <i>Akademiia Nauk</i> |
| ANVA | <i>Avhandlingar utgivet av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, Oslo</i> |
| AO | <i>Acta Orientalia</i> |
| AOHung | <i>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</i> |
| AOr | <i>Archív Orientální</i> |
| APAW | <i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.</i> |
| BGA | <i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i> |
| BSO[A]S | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies</i> |
| CAJ | <i>Central Asiatic Journal</i> |
| EI ¹ | <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition</i> |
| EI ² | <i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition</i> |
| EW | <i>East and West</i> |
| Farhang | <i>Farhang-i jughrāfiyā-yi Irān</i> |
| GAL | <i>C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i> |
| GIPh | <i>W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, eds., Grundriss der iranischen Philologie</i> |
| GJ | <i>Geographical Journal</i> |
| GMS | <i>Gibb Memorial Series</i> |
| HJAS | <i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i> |
| HOr | <i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i> |
| IA | <i>Islām Ansiklopedisi</i> |
| IJ | <i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i> |
| IJMES | <i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i> |
| IQ | <i>Islamic Quarterly</i> |
| Iran, JBIPS | <i>Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies</i> |
| Isl. | <i>Der Islam</i> |
| IUTAKÈ | <i>Trudy Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi èkspeditsii</i> |

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| JA | <i>Journal Asiatique</i> |
| JASB | <i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> |
| JAOS | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> |
| JESHO | <i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i> |
| JNES | <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> |
| JRAS | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> |
| JRCAS | <i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society</i> |
| JSFOu | <i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i> |
| JSS | <i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i> |
| MO | <i>Le Monde Oriental</i> |
| NGWG | <i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> |
| NTS | <i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap</i> |
| OLZ | <i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i> |
| OON | <i>Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk</i> |
| PRGS | <i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society</i> |
| PW | <i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> |
| REI | <i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i> |
| RMM | <i>Revue du Monde Musulman</i> |
| SA | <i>Sovetskaia Arkheologiia</i> |
| SBAW Berlin | <i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.</i> |
| SBWAW | <i>Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.</i> |
| SB Bayr. AW | <i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, phil.-hist. Kl.</i> |
| Soch. | <i>V. V. Bartol'd, Sochineniia, Moscow, 1963-1977. 9 vols.</i> |
| SON | <i>Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk</i> |
| Survey of Persian Art | <i>A. U. Pope and P. A. Ackermann, eds. A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present. 6 vols. London and New York, 1938-1939.</i> |
| TPS | <i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i> |
| ZA | <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i> |
| ZDMG | <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> |
| ZII | <i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipzig</i> |
| ZVORAO | <i>Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i> |







EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

No historian of the eastern Islamic world is unfamiliar with the works of Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd (1869-1930), or Wilhelm Barthold, as his name was originally rendered in the Germano-Russian milieu into which he was born. His magnum opus, the work based on his St. Petersburg doctoral thesis, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, appeared in English in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1928, and with an extra, hitherto unpublished chapter, again in 1968. The late Professor V. and Mrs. T. Minorsky performed a valuable service in 1958-1962 by translating as *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (in fact, five studies) Barthold's *A Short History of Turkestan*, *History of the Semirech'yé*, *Ulugh-Beg*, *Mir 'Alī Shīr*, and *A History of the Turkman People*. The lectures that Barthold gave in Turkish at Istanbul in 1926 are available in both German and French versions (*Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 1935, and *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 1945). A general work on Asian exploration and the evolution of oriental studies appeared in French in 1947, *La découverte de l'Asie, histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*. Various other lesser works have been translated into western languages and into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; Barthold wrote certain of his articles in the language of his family background, German; and the large number of articles that he wrote for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (many of them now updated and included in the new edition) are also widely available to the non-Russophone reader. But although the work of translation has gone on steadily in the half-century since Barthold's death, these works still represent only a small part of his total oeuvre, extending over some forty years; the *Collected Works (Sochineniia)* that appeared at Moscow between 1963 and 1977 (comprising ten parts in nine volumes) amount to over 7,000 large pages.

The stature of the man emerges from these bare statistics and the recounting of titles. The lands of eastern Islam, from Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asia, were Barthold's particular sphere of interest, and above all the latter, for the Russian advance into Central Asia during the later nineteenth century opened up for Russian scholars exciting possibilities of historical and archaeolog-

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ical investigation, whereas earlier European travelers to places like Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarqand had had to contend with capricious and barbaric local potentates who hardly observed the international conventions of behavior toward accredited diplomats, let alone toward free-lance travelers and researchers, figures of suspicion at the best of times. Barthold realized early in his scholarly career at the University of St. Petersburg, where he lectured from 1896 onward, that the investigation of the history, topography, and antiquities of Central Asia offered a field similar to that opened up in the Indian subcontinent in the late eighteenth century for British scholars. Barthold made almost annual field trips to Central Asia starting in 1893, undeterred by the fact that in that first year, on a journey to Semirechye, he broke his leg and had to return to Tashkent for medical treatment. In the 1920s, he was much in demand by the various Soviet republics that had by 1924 emerged in Central Asia after the final extinguishing of nationalist and separatist aspirations there, to write local histories and accounts of the different Turkish peoples of the republics. Both in the Tsarist period and after, Barthold was insistent that Russian officials, traders, soldiers, and so on working in Central Asia should busy themselves in their spare time with the study of the region, recognizing how much invaluable work had been done for our knowledge of Indian geography, society, and history by successive generations of devoted British administrators and soldiers.

Central Asia has always been at the receiving end of religious, cultural, and other influences, rather than being a spontaneously creative region, and it is this receptiveness to an assortment of outside civilizations—including those of China, India, the Middle East—that makes the study of Central Asia and the interaction of these strands such a fascinating one. It does, however, make stringent demands on the scholar who would devote himself to Inner Asia, not least in the matter of linguistic equipment; hence the rarity of the multilingual Marquarts and Pelliot. Barthold's concern was more particularly Islamic Central Asia, and his skills lay chiefly in the sphere of the three great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was an exacting philologist, fully cognizant of the truism not always appreciated today that without philological expertise the would-be specialist in the Middle East, or for that matter, in any part of Asia, is as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Accompanying his *Turkestan* when it appeared in 1898-1900 was a volume of texts, most of them edited for the first time by Barthold from manuscripts bristling with linguistic problems

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and difficulties of interpretation; many of these texts, such as Gardīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, 'Awfi's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, and Isfizarī's *Rawḍāt al-jannāt*, have since been published, but here, as in so many spheres, Barthold was the pioneer.

One of those great civilizations that have profoundly affected Central Asia is the Iranian, for out of Iran such faiths as Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, Nestorian Christianity, and most recently Islam have been mediated to the Asian heartland. If only because a knowledge of Iranian civilization was a necessary adjunct to the understanding of Central Asia, Barthold was bound to be attracted to the study of Iran, a land with which Russia had already long been in intimate political, military, and commercial contact. Two of his major works, indeed, deal with it, the one translated here, and *Iran, a Historical Survey*, and both will now be available in English (a translation of the latter appeared at Bombay in about 1939).

Barthold's basic attitude to history was, as Professor Yuri Bregel has pointed out in a perceptive study that should be read in conjunction with this present Introduction,¹ that of nineteenth-century German positivist historiography, with the evolution of mankind viewed as a convergence of originally distinct human societies through the diffusion of culturally more advanced societies to the less advanced. It was in the light of this process that he viewed such diverse phenomena as religion, the growth of world empires, the development of urban life, and the spread of international trade, and that he viewed with favor the *missions civilisatrices* of the imperial powers of his time, whether Britain in India and Africa or Russia in Central Asia, Siberia, and the Caucasus. It was, indeed, Barthold's intellectual support for the Imperial Russian mission in Central Asia (one whose positive achievements were appreciated at the time by outside observers such as Schuyler and Curzon) that eventually contributed to a fuller rehabilitation of his work in post-Stalinist Soviet Russia. For although Barthold, as a Russian patriot, had stayed on in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, he gave no assent to Communism and regarded Marx as an unhistorical, unscientific figure whose ideas had no relevance for oriental studies; he had never become a nonperson in Soviet scholarship, but his works had been somewhat neglected or cited only selectively and misleadingly in some quarters, above all in the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

The Historical Geography of Iran is essentially an analytical and

¹ "Barthold and Modern Oriental Studies," *IJMES*, XII (1980), 385-403.

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descriptive work rather than an attempt at synthesis. Barthold was conscious of the backwardness of oriental studies in the identification and evaluation of the basic sources, compared with long-established disciplines such as classical studies and European literature and history. He held that the critical study of these basic sources was necessary before any meaningful grand syntheses could be made. Iran, with its successive great empires—those of the Achaemenids, Parthians, Sāsānids, and Muslims—its diverse faiths and its fine literary and artistic achievements, was already much more sharply focussed for the scholar than was Central Asia, but the historical geography of Iran, apart from groundwork done by such scholars as Tomaschek, had been hardly explored. As it happened, while Barthold was working on his book, two German scholars were also putting together outstanding contributions to this very subject, though from very different angles. Josef Marquart (a scholar whom Barthold felt to be to some extent a rival to himself, with their overlapping interests, and one whose wide-ranging speculations, even at times lucubrations, Barthold felt were often not sufficiently firmly grounded in reality) in his *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (1901) gave a translation of a brief and jejune Armenian geographical work enriched by a commentary of amazing erudition; and Paul Schwarz was embarking on his *Iran in Mittelalter* (1896-1936), a patient synthesis of all the information available in the medieval Islamic geographers but without any attempt at interpretation. These works Barthold was able to draw upon substantially only for his additional notes, but his own book stands as a parallel, though completely independent achievement, and has the additional advantage of providing a successful blend of classical, medieval Islamic, and modern European information on his subject.

For sources, Barthold accordingly drew upon the results of a patient sifting by earlier Iranists of the classical—above all Greek—sources on Iran; and then, for the earlier Islamic centuries, upon the corpus of ninth- and tenth-century Arabic geographical texts collected by M. J. de Goeje in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (1870-1894), supplemented by Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*. For the period of the Saljuqs, Mongols, Tīmūrids, and so on, he had texts by authors such as Nasawī, Juwaynī, 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, and Hāfiz-i Abrū, in the exploitation of which Barthold was often a trailblazer. For the period up to the present, for which primary historical sources in Persian or Arabic become sparser, he utilized fully the many European travelers, diplomatic envoys, merchants,

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members of religious orders, and so on who traveled within Iran, being thereby able, through the citation of such recent observers as I. N. Berezin, E. G. Browne, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, and A. V. Williams Jackson, to make his survey entirely up to date. It is not surprising that Barthold is particularly full on Khurāsān and the northeastern fringes of Iran, for Russian travelers and scholars had done much valuable spadework here for him; but the breadth of his treatment of other provinces such as Fārs and Azerbaijan shows that his mastery of the source material extended to the whole of historic Iran, including Mesopotamia, that at various epochs has formed part of the empires of Iran.

The basic sources for the medieval Islamic period have not been greatly enlarged since Barthold's time. Since it was only in 1922 that A.Z.V. Togan discovered at Mashhad a manuscript of the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf al-Khazraji's second *risāla* on his travels in northern and western Iran, Barthold was not able to draw upon this, although he was of course aware of the numerous citations from this work in Yāqūt; I have therefore added the relevant references to Minorsky's 1955 edition and translation of the *risāla*. Also, Barthold naturally knew of the anonymous Persian geographical work from the late tenth century, the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, acquired by Captain A. G. Tumanskii at Bukhara in 1893, and whose text he was later to edit and to have published posthumously (1930). But in the earlier period, he was only able to quote to a limited extent from a photographic copy, so that ampler references to the English translation and monumental commentary of Minorsky (1937) have been added by Livshits.

Finally, one should mention that a Persian translation of the *Historical Geography of Iran* was published at Tehran in 1930 by Sardādwar; it is now very hard to find,² and it may be fairly claimed that the present translation will for the first time make available to western readers one of the masterworks of a giant of oriental studies.

THE translation has been made by Dr. Svat Soucek from the text of the *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana* given in Vol. VII of Barthold's *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 31-225, a volume provided with a lengthy Introduction (pp. 5-28) by Dr. V. A. Livshits. Barthold's original text is liberally sprinkled with quotations from Ar-

² My colleague, Mr. Mohsen Ashtiany, tells me that it has, however, recently been reprinted in Iran.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

abic, Persian, and Turkish sources given in the original Arabic script. These also have been translated; citations from classical Greek authors have been left in the original script.

The notes are an exceedingly valuable feature of this 1971 edition, but as translated in this present work they represent a palimpsest, as it were, of different layers by different hands. Barthold's original notes, given with the 1903 original text, were brief and largely confined to the citation of oriental texts used for the work. But as was his custom with other major works, over the years Barthold accumulated, out of his own reading and in some instances his closer personal acquaintance with the actual terrain, a rich collection of further references. Facsimile examples of Barthold's notes are given by Livshits at pp. 22-26 of his Introduction. Livshits has integrated these with the notes of the original edition (leaving them, in many cases, in their terse, elliptical, notelike form), and in the present translation, these are not otherwise distinguished; anyone who wishes to disentangle the 1903 notes from the subsequent ones can easily do so from the *Sochineniia* text. Livshits has, however, vastly increased the value of the latter text by adding his own extensive annotation, comprising in the main relevant works that appeared during the years 1930-1967. In the present translation, these are marked off by angle brackets, thus: «. . .»). The final layer is that of my own notes, references to works that have either appeared since 1967 or that were published earlier but were apparently not available to Livshits in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, references to translations of texts into western European languages, for example to Yule's translation of Marco Polo and to Le Strange's one of Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane*, have been given where Barthold cited only Russian translations. These additions of my own have been placed within square brackets, thus: [. . .] when they represent insertions within or additions to existing notes. Where a few notes have been inserted at fresh points in Barthold's text, these are indicated by letters, thus: a, b, c, etc. In general, however, I have sought not to overload still further an already substantial weight of annotation.

The bibliography given at the end of this book is a select one. Volume VII of the *Sochineniia* contains a bibliography of truly gargantuan dimensions (87 pages), although this also refers, it is true, to the other contents of the volume (*Iran, a Historical Survey*, some review articles and shorter articles, and some *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles). The system that I have adopted within the body of the translation is to give the full title and bibliographical details when

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the work in question does not appear in the bibliography. The naturally very numerous Russian works cited by Barthold are usually given by short title only and without full bibliographical details. Sergei Shuiskii has assembled a bibliography of Russian works that gives the full references; this follows the main bibliography.

For measurements and distances, Barthold wisely did not attempt to reduce the figures given in his sources to a common denominator; hence one finds metric measurements side-by-side with, for example, English miles and the traditional Russian units. The reader may therefore find it useful to note that a verst is approximately a kilometer or 3,500 English feet in length, an arshin 28 inches in length, and a desiatina 2.7 acres in area.

C. E. BOSWORTH
December 1981

AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this work is to present a brief survey of the geography of Iran, to dwell in greater detail on the sites that were at various historical periods the centers of life, and to determine, as far as possible, the degree of dependence of this life on geographical circumstances.

"Iran" as a geographical term denotes an elevated plateau, bordering on the north and northeast the basins of the Caspian and Aral seas, and on the west, south, and southeast, the basin of the Indian ocean. The country is one of the so-called interior, landlocked basins, whose characteristic peculiarities have been best described by F. Richthofen in his book on China.¹ The main difference between these basins and the ocean-drained or peripheral ones is that in the former, all the products of mechanical or chemical decomposition (through the action of water, wind, and so on) remain within the region, whereas in the latter they are carried away into the sea; in the former the accumulation of such deposits gradually effaces the unevenness of the soil and is instrumental in its leveling, whereas in the latter the deposits pile up along the coasts and further the formation of deltas and the raising of sea bottoms; the waters that pass through a country on the way to the sea erode the soil more and more, and the unevenness of the latter becomes ever more sharply pronounced. This is, then, how in closed basins the compartmentalization of the surface gradually diminishes, whereas in the peripheral ones it increases. Lack of moisture in landlocked basins, however, allows only a minor part of the country's surface to be cultivated, and this hinders a solid and lasting development of culture and civilization; for these reasons landlocked basins sharply differ from the peripheral ones not only in geography but also in history.

The Iranian plateau is one of such interior basins with an extremely dry climate.² Except in a few mountain areas, agriculture

¹ «F. Fr. von Richthofen, *China. Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien* (Berlin, 1877), 1. Theil, 6-21.)»

² For the absence of change in the climate during the last millennium, cf. W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie, II," pp. 561-62; Polybius, X, 28, 3 cited by L. S. Berg, "Ob izmeneniakh klimata v istoricheskuiu epokhu," *Zemlevedenie* (1911), book III, p. 80.

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is possible here only through irrigation; for this reason all the rivers, except for the most important ones, are divided up into irrigation canals as soon as they leave the mountains. Their remaining waters disappear in the sands. Civilization is of necessity concentrated along the fringes of the mountains that cut through the plateau. For these same reasons, the geographical borders of Iran could not coincide with the political and ethnic ones. The fact that almost the entire interior of the country is unsuitable for sedentary civilization could not but force the Iranians to settle areas neighboring the oceanic and Aralo-Caspian basins. The easternmost branch of the Iranians, the Afghans, now live chiefly in the basin of the Indus, whereas the westernmost one, the Kurds, live in that of the Tigris.³ These were the approximate limits within which lived the historical Iranians,⁴ as a result of which F. Spiegel, the author of a voluminous (now already somewhat dated) work on Iran, considered it possible to give his book the following title: *Érân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris*.

In the ethnic sense, the term "Iranians," as is well known, denotes that branch of the Aryans who are closely related to those of India. The oldest monuments of Indian and Iranian literatures are linguistically so similar that an attempt has even been made to reconstruct, in general terms, the language spoken by the proto-historical common ancestors of the Iranians and Indians. H. Oldenberg in his book *Aus Indien und Iran* remarks that "we can trace down to individual details the processes through which that language, not a single word of which has been preserved by history, developed to the southeast of the Hindu Kush into the dialect of the Vedas, and to the southwest of these same mountains into that of the Avesta."⁵ Of the two branches of the Asian Aryans—the Indians and Iranians—the Indians received their ethnic characteristics, it would seem, only in the country on that side of the Hindu Kush: there are no traces of Indians inhabiting the area to the north of these mountains. On the other hand, the Iranians, in the opinion of today's scholars, had at one time occupied a considerable portion of southern Russia and all of Turkestan, both western, present-day Russian, Turkestan and eastern Turkestan, that is, the Tarim

³ «For the present-day limits of the spread of the Iranian languages, see Oranskii, *Vvedenie*, p. 288.»

⁴ In the *Kutāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, I, 18², Sughd was called *Īrān al-A'lā*, "Upper Iran"; see Ross-Gauthiot, "De l'alphabet soghdien," *JA*, ser. 10, vol. XVII (1911), 532.

⁵ «H. Oldenberg, *Aus Indien und Iran* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 137-38.»

INTRODUCTION

basin. The languages spoken in this entire area already had the characteristic features of the Iranian idiom, not those of the proto-historical Indo-Iranian tongue. Both this fact and the few historical data available to us—the latter partly set out in F. A. Braun's magisterial dissertation *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* ["Researches in the Field of Gotho-Slavic Relations"]⁶—make us suppose that the movement of the Iranians, after their separation from the Indians, proceeded from east to west rather than vice versa; the Iranians migrated into present-day Persia, most probably, also from the east,⁷ and prior to their irruption there they reached a certain degree of cultural development in regions included today within the borders of Afghanistan. Here, in the basin of the Āmū Daryā and of other rivers that flow from the high mountain ranges that constitute that eastern limit of the Iranian plateau, the conditions of irrigation are somewhat more propitious than in the western part of Iran, for the high snow-clad mountain crests give rise to vigorous rivers. The traveler Ferrier, who in the years 1845-1846 crossed Persia and Afghanistan, states that through the area from Kermanshah, the principal town of Persian Kurdistan, to the Harī Rūd river, which represents the border of Persia and Afghanistan, he had to cross only brooks (*ruisseaux*); the Harī Rūd was the first river "à laquelle on puisse donner le nom de rivière."⁸ According to Ferrier again, the Hilmand is the only water course in the entire area from the Tigris to the Indus that deserves the appellation of a full-fledged river (*fleuve*).⁹

⁶ F. A. Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii. I. Goty i ikh sosedi do V veka. Pervyi period: Goty na Visle* (Saint Petersburg, 1899), pp. 77, 90, 96 (*Sbornik ORIAS* = *Otdelenie russkogo iazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk*, vol. XIV, no. 12).

⁷ «For the possible routes of the movement of Iranian tribes into the territory of the Iranian plateau, see R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1951), pp. 58 ff.; I. D'iakonov, *Istoriia Mīdu*, pp. 124-125, 1249-50; E. A. Grantovskii, "Drevneiranskoe etnicheskoe nazvanie "Parsava-Parsa," in *Kratkie soobshchennia Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, fasc. XXX (1961), pp. 3-19; V. I. Abaev, *Shifo-evropeiskie izoglosy na styke Vostoka i Zapada* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 122-24; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien (mit einer analytischen Bibliographie)* (Wiesbaden, 1966); V. M. Masson, *Srednuaia Azia i Drevnii Vostok* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), pp. 395-449.»

⁸ *Voyages*, I, 269.

⁹ For the link between the lack of water and the absence of snow-clad mountains, see letter from A. D. Kalmykov.

CHAPTER VII

Ray and Hamadān

THE western limit of Qūmis was considered to be the station Ra's al-Kalb, in the low mountain spurs to the west of Lāsgird; this place was separated from the fertile district of Khuwār¹ (the Χόαγα of Ptolemy and Χοασηνή of Isidore of Charax)² by a salt desert in which the village of Dih-i Namak or Diz-i Namak, the Qaşr al-Milḥ of the Arabs, is located. The chief settlement of the district of Khuwār now bears the Turkish name Qışlaq ("winter quarters").³ Travelers describe the guard towers and walls that until recently served as protection from incursions by the Turkomans; one can see from Ibn Rusta's account that such towers⁴ were there as early as the beginning of the tenth century.⁵ The district of Khuwār is separated from Ray by a mountain passage; this passage, now wider, now narrower, winds its way in helicoid fashion through the mountain chain; it is, in most scholars' opinion, identical with the "Caspian Gates" of the ancients, through which Alexander the Great passed in his pursuit of Bessus. Ibn Rusta counts three farsakhs from the western end of this passage to the village Afrīdūn, and from there nine more to the city of Ray.⁶

¹ Khuwār, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 479, was a large town ("one of the districts of al-Rayy"), but when he passed through it at the beginning of 1217 it was in decay. Khuwār is a town at the western limit of Qūmis; see Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 367 ff., as well as Ibn Ḥawqal, pp. 269-70, and Maqdisī, p. 258.

² Choarene as a part of Parthia, see Forbiger, *Handbuch*, II, 549.

³ For Qışlaq and its environs, see *Safar-nāma . . . ba-Khurāsān*, pp. 218-19, 222-23; from Qışlaq, one-and-a-half farsakhs to the "entrance of Khuwār," and a further two farsakhs to Aywān Kayf (it is mentioned also by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi Qazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*), from there six (or seven to eight) farsakhs to Khātūnābād. Concerning Aywān Kayf, see also Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*, pp. 123 ff. (ruins of Qal'a-yi Mādar and Qal'a-yi Qiz).

⁴ *Ḥiṣn mithl al-manāra*.

⁵ Ibn Rusta, p. 169.

⁶ These nine farsakhs through the Sawād al-Ray (the place is irrigated, the canals comprising *hashtādh rūdhān*), then one more hour, then steppes. To Ray by the Sawād al-Ray, seven farsakhs from Q.ṣṭāna, description of villages on both the right and left sides (Ibn Rusta, pp. 168-70). Khushkrūdh before Ray. According to *idem*, p. 169, from Afrīdūn to Khuwār, eight farsakhs, of which the last five through a ravine.

Ray, ancient Raga, was one of the earliest cities of Iran; Raga, a city in Media, is already mentioned in Darius's inscriptions of the sixth century B.C. Because of its antiquity, it had the nickname Shaykh al-Bilād or, like Balkh, Umm al-Bilād.⁷ Subsequently, the Seleucids founded next to the mountain passage itself the town of Charax, the medieval Arazi,⁸ where the Parthian king Phraates I in the first half of the second century A.D. resettled the people of Mardoi.⁹ Ray was conquered by the Arabs in the seventh century, and sometimes served as residence of governors who were in charge of the entire eastern half of Iran, including Khurāsān. One such governor was the future caliph Mahdī (father of Hārūn al-Rashīd), stationed here as governor during the caliphate of his father Manṣūr. He developed the city and named it after himself, al-Muḥammadiyya; this name is often found on the coins struck by Mahdī while he was heir presumptive.^a At the time of the tenth-century geographers, Ray was a considerable town, although it remained behind Nīshāpūr in terms of size and wealth.¹⁰ Like other large towns, Ray consisted of a *quhandiz*, a *shahristān*, and a *rabaḍ*; the Friday mosque, built by Mahdī, stood, as in Samarqand and Bukhārā, between the citadel and the *shahristān*.¹¹ Ibn Rusta says that

⁷ Cf. Dinawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭawāl*, ed. W. Guirgass and I. J. Kratschkowski (Leiden, 1888-1912), p. 40, regarding the construction of Ray under the Sāsānid Firūz in the fifth century. See also Ṭabarī, tr. Nöldeke, p. 123. For Ragae, see Strabo, #524.

⁸ In Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 269, Azārī, twelve farsakhs from Ray, on the road to Khuwār. The citadel of Ray, al-Z.y.n.b.dī (Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 269, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 124); Qal'at al-Farrukhān. Friday mosque at the foot of the cliff. For the fortress of Zaybandī (or Zaynabdi) see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 895; IV, 431 (where it is al-Zabīdiyya), also Balādhurī, p. 219. Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 215; Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*, p. 131 (*ibid.* for the clash between the Afghans and Nādir Shāh, after Mahdī Khān, *Ta'rikh-i Nādirī*, p. 36); Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 432 (Rei-bandī). (See also Barthold, *ZVORAO*, XVII, 104; *Soch.* III, 279.))

⁹ Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie*, I, 221.

^a The new mint name of al-Muḥammadiyya, instead of al-Ray, first appears in 148/765 and continues to be used until 407/1016-7, that is, until just before the Ghaznawid conquest of the town from the Buwayhids in 420/1029; see G. C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Ray* (New York, 1938), pp. 31 ff. Al-Muḥammadiyya was properly the town below the citadel.

¹⁰ Maqdisī, p. 391.

¹¹ According to Iṣṭakhrī, p. 208, in the *shahristān*; in Maqdisī, p. 391, "on the side of the city enclosed within the citadel"; in Ibn Rusta, p. 168, the fortress was in front of the mosque. The outer and inner city, in addition the *rabaḍ*, bazaars in it; cf. Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 269. Story in Ṭabarī, I, 2,655 about the destruction of old Ray and construction of a new one. The taxes of Ray, according to Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 270, were twelve million dirhams up to Maḥmūd, ten million after him. Under the Mongols, seven hundred tūmāns = seven million dinars or forty-two million dirhams.

the citadel was on a steep hill and that from the top of this hill a view opened up over the entire city.¹² The length and breadth of Ray equaled, according to some reports, one farsakh;¹³ according to others, one and one-half farsakhs.¹⁴ Both the citadel and the *shahristān* were in the tenth century abandoned by the inhabitants, whose life, as in other commercial and manufacturing towns, completely shifted to the *rabad*, where there were many bazaars. The chief market was called Rūda, after the name of the small river that flowed through it. Besides the water of two small rivers, the inhabitants used well water. The district was famous for its fertility and warm climate because it was protected from northerly winds; at the same time, however, the climate of Ray, like the present climate of Tehran, was considered very harmful to health, especially in summer. One could see the volcano of Damāwand, 5,900 meters high, from any part of the city and even from a considerable distance further south. The tenth-century sources do not report it as active, but smoke was seen rising from its top at all times.¹⁵ As is known, Damāwand is reputed in Persian mythology to be the place where the evil Ḍaḥḥāk, defeated by Farīdūn, was imprisoned.^b

Ray suffered in the eleventh century from incursions of the Ghuzz, but it recovered under the Saljuqs; the founder of this dynasty's might, Toghriġ Beg, was buried here.¹⁶ The fatal blow was struck in the Mongol invasion of 1220. According to Yāqūt, however, Ray had already become almost depopulated before that date as a result of factional strife between the Ḥanafīs and Shāfi'īs.¹⁷ Much earlier,

¹² Ibn Rusta, p. 169. [Abū Dulaf, *Travels in Iran*, tr. p. 51, #48, cf. comm. p. 100, mentions the castle built by the supporter of the former Tāhirid governors, Rāfi' b. Harthama, in the late ninth century, but in ruins at the time of his visit two or three generations later, and also the nearby mountain of Ṭabarak, with its pre-Islamic buildings and fire temples, much mentioned in subsequent Būyid, Ghaznawid, and Saljuq times (see below, note 24).]

¹³ Maqdisī, p. 391.

¹⁴ Iṣṭakhri, p. 207.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 210. [Abū Dulaf, *Travels in Iran*, tr. pp. 51-53, #51, climbed Damāwand in order to check popular reports that a rebellious demon had been imprisoned in the mountain by Sulaymān b. Dāwūd, and found vapor rising from a sulphurous spring.]

^b See M. Streck, *EP*, s.v.

¹⁶ Ray was considered a capital also under Alp Arslān, al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. M. T. Houtsma, in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoudes*, II (Leiden, 1889), 36, 41; and Malikshāh (*ibid.*, p. 55). Enthronement of his son in Iṣfahān (*ibid.*, p. 82) where Malikshāh, too, often stayed (pp. 55, 71); *ibid.*, p. 85, remnants of *al-dawla al-Khātūniyya*. For the treasures in the fortress of Iṣfahān, see *ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁷ *Mu'jam*, II, 893-94. Yāqūt, *ibid.*, about employment of blue tiles in Ray. In the

Maqdisī mentions in the tenth century the rivalry of these two groups and states that at the Friday mosque the function of imām was discharged one day by a Ḥanafī, the next day by a Shāfi'ī.¹⁸ In the thirteenth century, the dissensions assumed the character of armed struggle; Yāqūt's narrative indicates that one legal school predominated among the city dwellers, the other among the villagers: this would suggest that the rivalry had economic rather than religious causes.¹⁹

After the Mongol calamity, Ray did not recover its former importance. One of the nine districts or *tūmāns* into which Persian 'Irāq,²⁰ that is, ancient Media, was divided under the Mongols was Ray, together with its local towns and villages,²¹ but the chief city of this *tūmān* was not Ray but Warāmīn, which now also lies in ruins. As a village, Warāmīn is already mentioned by the tenth-century geographers.²² The district was administered under the Mongols by special hereditary governors.²³ Ray was partly restored under the reign of the il-khan Ghazan (1295-1304); also built (or rather restored) was the fortress called Ṭabarak in the northern part of the city at the foot of the mountain, which had already existed in the twelfth century.²⁴ The inhabitants of the district were

tenth century, the buildings were from clay and wood; in Yāqūt's time, the greater part of the city was ruined, but the city walls were untouched.

¹⁸ Maqdisī, p. 391.

¹⁹ According to Mirkhwānd (D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, I, 249), the Shāfi'īs invited the Mongols against the Ḥanafīs. Participation of the Shī'īs; in the midst of the *ahl-i rustāq*, the majority were Shī'īs; a small number of Ḥanafīs, but no Shāfi'īs at all. Cf. Ibn Hawqal, pp. 270, 289; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 572, 833, 893-94; Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 216. [For this general phenomenon of factional strife, 'asabiyya, in the towns of Iran, see Cl. Cahen, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen Âge* (Leiden, 1959), originally in *Arabica*, V-VI [1958-1959]; and for Khurāsān in particular, Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, pp. 163-71.]

²⁰ For the origin of the name, see Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 185 ff. In Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, II, 15, s.v. "al-Jibāl." In the election law of 1902, 'Irāq was a district of Sultānābād, as it is also on the map in Jackson, *Zoroaster*. [For the town and district (*shahristān*) of Sultānābād, see Minorsky, *El*¹, s.v.; the present name for these is now Arāk (< 'Irāq), see *Farhang*, II, 6. The town's prosperity increased considerably after 1938 when the Persian Gulf-Tehran railway, which passed through it, was completed. In 1976, the population of the town of Arāk was 114,507 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], 242.)]

²¹ Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's ed. of Nizām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma* (Paris, 1897), pp. 166-72 [ed. Le Strange, pp. 52-55, tr. *idem*, pp. 58-60].

²² Iṣṭakhri, p. 209.

²³ Warāmīn as a small town, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 918, some thirty miles from Ray on the road to Iṣfahān. Iṣṭakhri concerning the dimensions of the settlements.

²⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, IX, 268. In Ṣahīr al-Dīn Mar'ashī, *Ta'rikh-i Ṭa-*

at that time mostly Shī'īs, and only a few villages remained aligned behind the Ḥanafīs. After the collapse of the Il-Khanids, Ray, as in the tenth century, shared the lot of the Caspian provinces and became part of the possessions of the amīr Walī, who had established his control over Astarābād and Māzandarān. In 1384 Walī was beaten near Astarābād by Tīmūr, whose armies in that same year took Ray without resistance. The city was thus spared calamity under Tīmūr. Ray is mentioned several times in connection with Tīmūr's campaigns, but the district rather than the town is meant in this context. Clavijo, who passed through it in 1404, found only ruins on the place of the former Ray.²⁵ The preference that the population had acquired for Warāmīn can be partly explained by the supply of water in the latter, which benefited from the most substantial watercourse in the district, the Jāj Rūd. Besides Warāmīn, however, Tehran, the present capital of Iran, to which the residents of Ray and Warāmīn must have moved, was already an important city by the fifteenth century.

The ruins of Ray have been described more than once, by R. Ker Porter in the 1820s among others.²⁶ The plan of the ruins that he made will never lose its relevance, because the remnants of the buildings and walls are no longer as evident today as they were in his time;²⁷ the inhabitants of Tehran have used and sometimes still use the bricks of the ancient buildings as materials for the construction of their own dwellings. The most notable feature among these ruins is, of course, the citadel, which stands on a steep cliff; Ferrier states that the local inhabitants call this cliff al-Burj, "the

baristān va Rūyān va Māzandarān, ed. B. Dorn (St. Petersburg, 1850), p. 15, *qal'a-yi Ṭabarāk*, a stronghold on the *tapa-yi buzurg* built by Manūchihr, the earliest of all the fortresses; *tabar* = "mountain" in Ṭabaristānī. Also in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 507 ff. *Ibid.* for the destruction of the fortress by Sultan Ṭoḡhrīl in 588/1192. His relationship with Qizil-Arslān (killed in 1191); death of Ṭoḡhrīl in 1194; his capital was Hamadān.

²⁵ *Travels*, ed. I. I. Sreznevskii, p. 187 [tr. Le Strange, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1404* (London, 1928), p. 167]. Schiltberger, *Puteshestviia*, p. 47, remarks that the inhabitants of Ray "differ from other heathens" in their Shī'ī beliefs. [The narrative of the Bavarian soldier Hans Schiltberger's *Reisebuch* (he spent over thirty years in Timurid Iran) was published by V. Langmantel (Tübingen, 1885); F. Brui's Russian version, used by Barthold, had appeared earlier (Odessa, 1866). Cf. A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens, die Entwicklung der abendländischen Kenntnis der Geographie Persiens* (Vienna, 1952), pp. 42-48, on these two Spanish and German sources.]

²⁶ *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, etc. during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820* (London, 1821-1822), I, 358-64.

²⁷ A plan, after Ker Porter, is in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 435. The area is about 4,000 or 3,500 yards, approximately three and one-third or three versts.

tower."²⁸ At the foot of the hill is yet another citadel, obviously the stronghold Ṭabarak built under Ghazan Khan. The entire ground plan of the ruins has the shape of a triangle whose top is constituted by the cliff with the citadel on it. Among other noteworthy buildings are two towers with Kūfic inscriptions; one of these towers is called, like the one in Ṭūs, the Naqqāra-Khāna. According to Curzon, it was subjected to a restoration just before his visit, that is, at the close of the 1880s; this restoration disfigured it beyond recognition. There are, however, representations of the tower in its original form, for example in L. Dubeux's book *La Perse*.²⁹ There used to be in Ray a bas-relief from Sāsānid times with a portrait of the king on horseback and a lance in his hand; in the nineteenth century, at the close of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh's reign, this bas-relief was effaced and there was substituted a representation of the latter monarch piercing a lion with a lance.³⁰

There are also several beautiful medieval constructions among the ruins of Warāmīn.³¹ Especially remarkable is the fourteenth-century mosque whose building is attributed to the il-khan Abū Sa'īd (1316-1335). A picture and a description of it are to be found in J. Dieulafoy's book.³²

Tehran, which has replaced these cities, is so new that a detailed description of it is not appropriate to a discussion of historical geography. In its original form, the city differed little from other Persian towns; it had a quadrangular shape, with a gate in the middle of each side and two more gates as well as a citadel in the northern section, where there is still today the palace of the shāh.³³

²⁸ *Voyages*, I, 107.

²⁹ *La Perse* (Paris, 1841), fig. 37.

³⁰ Curzon, *Persia*, I, 352. Bas-relief in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 439.

³¹ For Warāmīn, see also Iskandar Munshī, *Ta'rikh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī* (Tehran, 1313-4/1895-7), I, 256 (under 997 A.H.): "The fortress of Warāmīn near Ray: it is in the center of the country of Iraq and has excellent caravanserais." «For the history and monuments of Ray and Warāmīn, see also A.V.W. Jackson, "Historical sketch of Ragha," *Spiegel Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1908), pp. 237-45; Herzfeld, "Zarathustra. V. Awestische Topographie," *AMI*, II (1930), 95-98; Minorsky, *ET*, arts. "Raiy" and "Warāmīn"; *Survey of Persian Art*, II, V; Mīr Ḥusayn Yakraṅgiyān, *Jughrafiyā-yi ta'rikhī* (Tehran, 1332/1953).» [Abū Dulaf, *Travels in Iran*, tr. pp. 51-53. ##47-50, comm. pp. 99-101.]

³² «*La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane* (Paris, 1887).»

³³ For the village of Tehran, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 564. Tehran in J. Chardin (1674), "petite ville du pays Comisène" (*Voyages en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, ed. L. Langlès [Paris, 1811], VIII, 174). «The earliest certain mention of Tehran is in the *Fārs-nāma* of Ibn al-Balkhī, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson (London, 1921), p. 134, see Minorsky, *ET*, art. "Tehran"; for the history and monuments of Tehran,

Modern Tehran is a creation of the late Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, who in 1870-1872 expanded and rebuilt the city after the manner in which Paris was rebuilt under Napoleon III. Tehran now has the shape of an octagon,³⁴ and is more than fifteen versts in circumference, with twelve gates;³⁵ the fortifications are built on the pattern of those in Paris from before the Franco-Prussian War, but are not equipped with cannon, and in general are totally useless for defense of the city. Some of the gates represent monumental constructions; inside, avenues have been conducted through the city, squares have been laid out, and several beautiful buildings have been added. Curzon states that however much remains to be done for the welfare of the city, Nāṣir al-Dīn has by and large successfully solved the problem of reconstructing Tehran on a European model without adversely affecting its special Oriental charm.³⁶

Like other large cities of Iran, Tehran has its religious sanctuary: the mausoleum of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm, one of 'Alī's descendants, who fled to Ray from the caliph Mutawakkil and died here in 861; an Imāmzāda 'Abd al-'Azīm is mentioned among the personages buried in Ray by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī, although not as the most prominent one.³⁷ Connected with Ray is the name of yet another 'Alid, Ḥamza, son of the imām Mūsā and brother of 'Alī al-Riḍā; in Mustawfī's time, a cave in the vicinity of Tehran was

aside from the works listed in the bibliography that accompanies Minorsky's article, see also Yakrangiyān, *Jughrāfiyā-yi ta'rikhī*; 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Ta'rikh-i Tihārān* (Tehran, 1325/1946); S. Abdalian, *La région de Tehran* (Tehran, 1948).)

³⁴ In E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians* (London, 1893), p. 86, "roughly speaking circular in shape."

³⁵ Listed in Browne (*ibid.*); twelve gates also in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 420; the city is over ten miles in circuit. According to the election law of 1906, Tehran elected 32 deputies to the Majlis from among 128; according to the law of 1909, 15 out of 120 (all Azerbaijan, according to the 1906 law, elected 12; according to the 1909 law, 19). The text of the 1909 law is in M. Ardatov, *Poslednee politicheskoe dvinzhenie v Persii*, fasc. 2, pp. 82 ff. (the ruling about the elections in fasc. 1, pp. 60 ff.; for the number of deputies, article 6). (A different set of data, especially 60 deputies from Tehran according to the law of 9 September 1906 (20 Rajab 1324), are in the book *Majmū'a-yi maṣūbāt-i adwār-i awwal va duḡwum*, pp. 43-48. See also M. Ivanov, *Iranskaia revoliutsiia*, pp. 88-95.)

³⁶ *Persia*, I, 306-307. [Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, pp. 1-9. From a large literature on the urbanization of Tehran and attendant problems, see H. Bahrambeygui, *Tehran, an Urban Analysis* (Tehran, 1977). The population of Tehran in 1976 was 4,496,159, according to a census conducted in November of that year by the Markaz-i Āmār-i Irān; cf. *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], pp. 237-43.]

³⁷ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's edition of Niẓām al-Mulk, p. 176 [ed. Le Strange, p. 173, tr. *idem*, p. 168].

shown where this saint, hiding from his pursuers, disappeared.³⁸ The modern structure above the tomb of 'Abd al-'Azīm mentioned earlier³⁹ was built, as is shown by an inscription on the frontal, by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, and is considered a sanctuary, *bast*, from which the infidels are barred and where a Muslim enjoys the right of asylum; the right is outwardly symbolized by a string stretched in front of the building. The mausoleum lies nine versts from Tehran, with which it is linked by a railway, so far the only one in Iran.

In the course of their westward migration, the Aryans entered in Ray a country into which the Assyrian armies occasionally penetrated and which thus could come under a certain influence from Mesopotamian civilization. The Assyrians under King Esarhaddon (681-668 B.C.) reached Alburz and Damāwand, but these campaigns had the character of incursions and did not prevent the Medes from creating a strong kingdom at a time that coincided with the reign of the following Assyrian king, Ashshurbanipal (668-626 B.C.). They seized the opportunity for this at a moment when the Assyrians were busy elsewhere, especially in Khūzistān.⁴⁰ This unification of small clan units into one political organism was achieved by the Medes in the area where Hamadān is located, that is, next to the mountain chains that separate Iran from Mesopotamia. Here was the "land of Dayaukku," the center of activity of that real or mythical founder of the Median empire.

According to Tomaschek's findings, the ancient road from Hamadān to Ray (that is, from Ekbatana to Raga), coincided with the present road and passed through Zarand;⁴¹ the Arab geographers write about a roundabout way, via the town of Sāwa. The shortest route from Hamadān to Ray is reckoned to measure 49 farsakhs (302½ versts). Although this road crosses some mountains, no single pass presents serious obstacles to pack transport except for the 50 versts-long section between Kushkan and Mazdakan, which is sometimes blocked by snowdrifts, even to wheeled transport.⁴² The roundabout way, according to the Arab geographers, was 61 farsakhs long. Noteworthy on this road was the village of Mashkūya, some 8 farsakhs from Sāwa and 15 farsakhs from Ray. Ibn Rusta mentions the existence, in this village, of an interesting palace of pre-Islamic date, with figures carved from wood and a gilt roof; the palace had a park with a spring from which a stream issued

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

³⁹ Curzon, *Persia*, I, 346.

⁴⁰ «See now I. D'iakonov, *Istoriia Midn.*»

⁴¹ *Zur historischen Topographie*, I, 154.

⁴² Tumanskii, *Ot Kaspiuskogo moria*, p. 29.

and watered the neighboring fields.⁴³ Between Mashkūya and the next station, the road to Ray came to a river now called Āb-i Shūr; the road crossed it on a bridge made of brick, with arches; from this bridge one could see Mount Damāwand.

The "roundabout road" thus must have originated not because of some real obstacles on the main road but as a result of the importance of the city of Sāwa; the district of Zarand, which lies on the main road, is subordinate to it even now. Here one of the roads to southern Persia branches off. The district of Sāwa comes within the confines of the region of Qum, to which it is ascribed as early as the tenth-century author Ibn al-Faḳīh.⁴⁴ In the political sense, Sāwa was subordinate to Ray rather than to Hamadān; the customs-house of the ruler of Ray was located, according to Ibn Rusta,⁴⁵ somewhat further west of where the roads to Sāwa and to Zarand bifurcated, a little distance east of the village of Pūsta, which already existed at that time.⁴⁶ Sāwa was said to have been built in the Islamic period; it does not seem to have had great importance before the Il-Khanids, although narratives about the Mongol conquest mention the burning of a rich library.⁴⁷ Here too, as in Ray, a struggle was going on between the townspeople, Shāfi'ī Sunnīs, and the peasants of the countryside, who were Shī'īs. The village of Āwa, a short distance to the south of the city,⁴⁸ was the center of Shī'ism in this struggle.⁴⁹ Sāwa was rebuilt by a local ruler in the fourteenth century, apparently on a larger scale than before. It remained Sunnī, although in it there was one of the Shī'ī sanctuaries, the tomb of Imām al-Riḍā's brother Ishāq. Moreover, in the neighborhood of Sāwa was shown, then as now, the grave of the prophet Samuel.⁵⁰

The broad and fertile valley in which, according to Herodotus,

⁴³ Ibn Rusta, p. 168. The township mentioned in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV, 543. Mashkūya as a geographical appellation and as a personal name; Ibn Miskawayh. «Cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 32 n. 1, *Soch.* I, 78, n. 3.»

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 265; tr. p. 318.

⁴⁵ Ibn Rusta, p. 168.

⁴⁶ Būsta somewhat to the west of Mazdakān. Cf. Balādhurī, p. 318, for Dastabā.

⁴⁷ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 24. According to Yāqūt, this was the largest in the world. Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 211 (also according to Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*).

⁴⁸ There were two settlements called Āwa; the second was on the road from Hamadān to Ray (it is marked on the map).

⁴⁹ According to Yāqūt, two farsakhs (Āwa); between Zanjān and Hamadān, Uwa. The *nisba* Āwaqī, *Mu'jam*, I, 408; Āwa on the road from Karaj to Ray (Maqdisī, p. 401).

⁵⁰ Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, extract in Schefer's edition of Nizām al-Mulk, p. 180 [ed. Le Strange, p. 63, tr. *idem*, p. 68].

Deioces (Dayaukku) founded his capital, is surrounded by seven rows of walls formed by two spurs of the mountain Alwand or Arwand, the Orontes of the Greeks, and it is watered by the stream Murad Bek Chay and a number of wells. Thanks to an abundant water supply, Hamadān and its environs always had many orchards with fruit trees and grapes. There were also fields under cultivation, but the grain was of poor quality,⁵¹ probably because of the cold climate: the valley has an elevation of 6,000 feet above sea level. The present name, Hamadān, is a modified form of the Old Persian Hagmatana, Greek Ἀγβάτανα.

Ekbatana remained a royal residence even after the fall of the Median kingdom, under the Achaemenids; the Persian kings spent their summers here, because of the high altitude of the valley and the resulting cool climate. Several columns and the statue of a lion preserved in the city are dated to the Achaemenid period. Ibn al-Faqīh mentions the latter, and quotes an Arab poet who celebrates this lion in his verse; the statue, which stood at that time by the gate of the city,⁵² made such an impression of antiquity on this poet that the latter addresses the lion with the question of whether he was prior to time or whether time was prior to him: *a qablaka kāna al-dahru am kunta qablahu?*⁵³

As under the Median kings, so under the Achaemenids the citadel of Ekbatana was considered the strongest in the kingdom and the safest depository for royal treasures; Alexander the Great placed here the booty of his campaigns. The city played the same role under the Parthians: according to Polybius (second century B.C.), there was at the foot of the citadel a palace, richly inlaid with golden and silver plates, and alongside was a temple with gilt columns. Isidore of Charax locates in Ekbatana the treasury (θησαυροφυλάκιον) and temple of Anahita, the Iranian goddess of fertility. The site of the citadel of Ekbatana is usually identified with the present hill of Muşallā, the final spur of Alwand, to the southeast of the city, on which are remnants of the ancient structure. In the Middle Ages, however, as we know from Yāqūt's account, the as-

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁵² Perhaps under the gate—"by the gate of the town" (Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 240), at any rate on the side of Alwand, "opposite Arwand." Cf. *EP* art. "Hamadhān," reference to Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, IX, 21, for the destruction of the *bāb al-asad* in 319/911 by the army of Mardāwīj b. Ziyār, in which the statue was toppled over; see the photograph in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 160. Inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes; the gorge of 'Abbāsābād three kilometers from the city, inscriptions five kilometers from the entrance to the gorge. In Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 243; tr. p. 294 at Tabanābar.

⁵³ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 241.

sociation was made with the ruins of an ancient castle in the village of Sinjābād, two farsakhs from the Islamic city.⁵⁴ According to tradition, the kings took their treasures away because of the evil and treacherous disposition of the inhabitants; this latter feature, as well as the city's bad climate, was also a subject of complaints voiced by the Arab geographers.⁵⁵ In the Sāsānid period, Hamadān does not seem to have had great importance, and it was not one of the royal residences. Ibn al-Faqīh points out that the constructions of the Sāsānids were distributed all along the space between their capital al-Madā'in and the mountain pass that separates the cities of Asadābād and Hamadān on the road from Baghdad to Khurāsān, but that no such buildings existed anywhere beyond this pass, even in Hamadān.⁵⁶

The Arabs took Hamadān half a year after the murder of the caliph 'Umar, in the spring of 645. There were so few monuments from earlier times in the city that Ibn Ḥawqal could characterize it as "new, built in Islamic times."⁵⁷ The length and width of the city equaled one farsakh; a tradition claimed that in the past it had been much more spacious and occupied the enormous area of four farsakhs in diameter.⁵⁸ The Arab geographers describing Hamadān do not mention the citadel, and only speak of the *shahristān* with four iron gates; this *shahristān* occupied the center of the town and had by then already become quite dilapidated.⁵⁹ The bazaars and the Friday mosque were in the *rabad* that surrounded the *shahristān*.

In terms of its population and wealth, Hamadān remained behind Ray. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, the city was the capital of a few rulers, especially under the Buwayhids, but in general it did not play any outstanding political or military role; on the other hand, it has kept to this day its importance as a large commercial center, despite periods of temporary decline. As the most important city of southwestern Iran, Hamadān functioned as

⁵⁴ *Mu'jam*, IV, 981. [Abū Dulaf, *Travels in Iran*, tr. pp. 47-49, #41, clearly refers, however, to the mound of ancient Ekbatana when he speaks of "the ancient town" (*al-madīna al-'atīqa*) on its mound.]

⁵⁵ Maqdisī, p. 392.

⁵⁶ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 229; tr. p. 277.

⁵⁷ Ibn Ḥawqal, p. 260.

⁵⁸ Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 218; tr. p. 265.

⁵⁹ Maqdisī, p. 392. His statement that "the city in the middle of the district which the *rabad* surrounds is ruined." Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 219: Alexander the Great "built in its center a massive castle overlooking [it], it had three sides, and he called it Sārūq." Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, IV 982 ff., about the buildings of Persian kings; *ibid.*, p. 981, Sanjābād two farsakhs from Hamadān.

a transshipment center in the trade of these regions with the west; here were brought the goods to be sent to Tabriz and from there to Trebizond and the Black Sea; here were brought also, after the development of Anglo-Indian trade via Basra and Baghdad, goods destined for the southeastern provinces of Iran. According to Tumanskii, "the large and lively Hamadān bazaar is stocked full with Anglo-Indian goods."⁶⁰ From Hamadān the caravans, loaded with these goods, head also for Tehran and on another road for Rasht across the town of Āwa. According to Curzon, at the time of his visit (1889), there were no more than 20,000 inhabitants in Hamadān,⁶¹ but Tumanskii, who visited it just five years later, estimated the population already at some 40,000 to 50,000; according to him, the city had grown quickly in the course of the previous twenty years as a result of British trade through Baghdad.⁶² There are also in Hamadān a fair number of Jews (according to Curzon, 1,500 to 2,000), both local and from Baghdad; the latter, according to Tumanskii, are the dominant element in the commerce of Hamadān. The attitude of the local population toward the Jews, according to Curzon, is exceedingly hostile, although the Muslims venerate the Jewish sanctuaries in the city, the presumed tombs of Esther and Mordecai.⁶³ The cupola crowning the building has, according to Curzon, the character of an undoubtedly new structure; the bodies are kept in wooden coffins covered with Hebrew letters. Ker Porter heard that the present mausoleum had been built after Tīmūr's time and was restored in the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ Near it was the tomb of the famous eleventh-century philosopher Avicenna (that is, Abū 'Alī Ibn Sīnā).⁶⁵

⁶⁰ *Ot Kaspiiskogo mornia*, p. 30.

⁶¹ *Persia*, I, 566.

⁶² According to Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 148, in 1903 about 25,000. Article of A. F. Shtal', "Khamadan": area of the city, nine square versts, 50,000 to 60,000 inhabitants. For Hamadan, see also Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 194 ff. [H. L. Rabino, "Hamadan," *RMM*, XLIII (1921), 221-27; Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, pp. 94-100. The population of the town in ca. 1950 was 120,000 (*Farhang*, V, 482); in 1976, it was 155,846 (*Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, IV [1976-1977], 242).]

⁶³ Doubtful, but the same appears in Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 168-69.

⁶⁴ *Travels*, II, 108.

⁶⁵ For the history and monuments of Hamadān, see also the bibliography in Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, pp. 108-10; *Survey of Persian Art*, II, V; Frye, *EP*, art. "Hamadhān"; *Rāhnāmā-yi shahr-i Hamadān* (Tehran, 1331/1952). [Matheson, *Persia, an Archaeological Guide*, pp. 109-12.]

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